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Who's Your Neighbor?

Residential Segregation and Diversity in California

By Juan Onésimo Sandoval, Hans P. Johnson, and Sonya M. Tafoya

Summary

During the 1990s, California's population became more racially and ethnically diverse. By 2000, no single racial or ethnic group constituted a majority of the state's population. Increases in Latino and Asian populations were particularly high. In this edition of *California Counts*, we examine the degree to which the state's increasing diversity was experienced at the neighborhood level. Did California's growing Latino and Asian populations lead to even greater segregation in the state, or did neighborhoods in California reflect the diversity of the state's population? As components of larger geographic areas, how did these neighborhoods define the character of cities, counties, and regions?

Using a diversity index that incorporates the complexity of California's population, we find that neighborhood segregation—the extent to which groups live separately from one another—is generally on the decline. In 1990, 43 percent of California neighborhoods were segregated, and by 2000 only 25 percent were. Since 1990, the number of majority non-Hispanic white neighborhoods decreased and the number of Asian and Latino majority neighborhoods increased. Although Latino majority neighborhoods were the most likely of five neighborhood types to be segregated in 2000, segregation in all neighborhood types declined between 1990 and 2000.

Regional analysis tends to mask segregation at lower geographic levels, yet it elucidates the results of major immigration and general growth trends. For example, the Far North and Sierra regions are distinct from the rest of the state in that they have very few diverse tracts and are primarily non-Hispanic white. Conversely, the Bay Area, Sacramento Metro, and Inland Empire regions rank highest in terms of the proportion of diverse tracts. The Inland Empire and Sacramento Metro regions were relatively fast growing in the 1990s and received many migrants from other parts of the state, whereas the Bay Area continued to attract international immigrants from many countries.

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Sacramento, Stockton, Fremont, Long Beach, and Oakland ranked among the most diverse of California's large cities, whereas Vallejo, Pittsburg, Hayward, San Leandro, and Fairfield were the most diverse among cities with at least 50,000 people. Among those cities, East Los Angeles was the least diverse place in California. Of the ten least diverse cities, seven were majority Latino; of the remaining three, all were majority white cities—two in expensive Southern California neighborhoods and the other in the Far North region. The city of Los Angeles has a diverse population overall, but that diversity is not reflected in most of its neighborhoods, which are among the most segregated of any large city in California.

Juan Onésimo Sandoval is a professor at Northwestern University. This report was completed while he was a dissertation fellow at PPIC. Hans P. Johnson and Sonya M. Tafoya are researchers at PPIC. Views expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of PPIC. *The authors acknowledge the helpful comments of William Clark, Deborah Reed, Belinda Reyes, and Gary Bjork on earlier drafts of this report.*

CORRECTION

The previous issue of *California Counts* ("A State of Diversity...," Vol. 3, No. 5, May 2002) contains an error in Table 5 (p. 12). For **1980 only**, the numbers in columns 4 (Asian and Pacific Islander) and 5 (African-American) are reversed. Please see the issue posted on our website (www.ppic.org/publications/CalCounts/calcounts12.pdf) for the correct version of the table. We apologize for any inconvenience this has caused.

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Introduction

Residential segregation refers to the degree to which groups live separately from one another. To the extent that segregation constrains social, educational, political, and economic advancement for various racial/ethnic groups, it remains a salient public policy issue. Historically, urban segregation studies have examined the distribution of the majority (generally white) population and compared it with that of a minority (generally African American) population. Recent studies have shown that metropolitan areas in California have relatively low levels of segregation, especially compared with the Northeast, and that black-white segregation in California declined between 1980 and 1990 (Farley and Frey, 1994). Residential segregation has historically been more severe for African Americans than for other racial/ethnic groups, but the new waves of immigrants from Asia and Latin America have added further layers to the study of residential segregation. Using techniques similar to those used to study black-white segregation, scholars have found that Latino and Asian segregation actually increased between 1980 and 1990, unlike the patterns seen for African Americans (Frey and Farley, 1996).

As previous scholars have done, we depart from the most commonly used dichotomous techniques for studying residential segregation. With no single racial/ethnic group constituting a majority of the population, designation of a reference group is somewhat arbitrary. Rather than describing how any two groups are segregated from one another, we examine several racial/ethnic groups at once in order to describe California's overall degree of geographic homogeneity or heterogeneity. Using this type of analysis with national data from 1980, some scholars found that high diversity was most evident in towns and cities in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas (Allen and Turner, 1989). More recently, studies of the Los Angeles metropolitan area between 1980 and 1990 have shown the emergence of large and concentrated Latino neighborhoods as well as the persistence of largely white coastal areas (Clark, 1996).

In this report, we define five broad racial/ethnic groups to compare highly urbanized areas of the state that are home to numerous ethnic subgroups with smaller or more rural areas that have traditionally been more homogeneous. Results are reported here at the level of census tract (neighborhood), city, county, and region. Because we are interested in neighborhood diversity and segregation, our indicators of city, county, and regional diversity and segregation are an average of the diversity and segregation of census tracts in those places.[1] Within this report, we refer to neighborhoods as diverse, somewhat diverse, somewhat segregated, and segregated. These labels refer to specific values along the range of entropy scores that we calculated for the state's census tracts (see the text box, "Measuring Diversity and Segregation"). Thus, although we recognize that the social consequences of living in a segregated neighborhood are different for residents of a poor inner-city environment than they are for residents of a wealthy suburban neighborhood, the neighborhood is deemed segregated if one racial/ethnic group constitutes the overwhelming

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Measuring Diversity and Segregation

To measure diversity and segregation in California census tracts, we construct an index. This index, known as the diversity index, is based on the "entropy" measure of residential segregation and is calculated as:

$$H_i = \left| \sum_{i=1}^{K} \frac{(\log\ (P(i)) * P(i)}{(\log\ k)} \right| * 100$$

where

H_i = Diversity index for tract i
$P(i)$ = Proportion of the tract population in racial/ethnic group k
K = The total number of racial/ethnic categories.

Scores range from 0 to 100, where 0 is homogeneous and 100 is heterogeneous. A score of 0 means that a tract has only one race/ethnic group; a score of 100 means that each of the k groups is of equal size in the tract. Diversity index scores for cities and counties are a weighted average of the diversity index scores for the tracts contained either wholly or partly in the city or county. In some of the following tables and in the map, we have divided census tracts into four categories according to the diversity index. We consider a place to be diverse if its diversity index is 75 or greater, somewhat diverse if its index is 60 to 75, somewhat segregated if its index is 45 to 60, and segregated if its index is 0 to 45. Examples of cities that meet the criteria for each category are as follows (note that the ethnic distribution is that of all census tracts either wholly or partly in the city):

Diverse—Vallejo: 34 percent white, 21 percent African American, 23 percent Asian, 16 percent Latino, 5 percent other
Somewhat diverse—Burbank: 59 percent white, 2 percent African American, 9 percent Asian, 26 percent Latino, 5 percent other
Somewhat segregated—Santa Rosa: 71 percent white, 2 percent African American, 4 percent Asian, 20 percent Latino, 4 percent other
Segregated—Encinitas: 81 percent white, <1 percent African American, 3 percent Asian, 13 percent Latino, 2 percent other.

The four categories reflect to some degree natural breaks in the distribution of the entropy score. The average entropy score for California was 58. We round the mean to 60 and use a 15 point interval to create the categories. Populations by census tract were obtained from Summary File 1 from the 2000 Census and Summary Tape File 3A from the 1990 Census.

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majority, regardless of other sociodemographic neighborhood characteristics.

Data and Methods

Population data for this report are drawn from the decennial Censuses of 1990 and 2000. We developed a diversity index score for each census tract in the state (see the text box, "Measuring Diversity and Segregation"). Since the diversity index is maximized when a local population can be divided evenly among all ethnic groups, we limited our categories to the four largest ethnic groups in California—non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, Asian and Pacific Islander,[2] and Hispanic or Latino (of any race)—and an aggregate "other" category. "Other" in the context of this report captures American Indian populations in the sparsely populated regions of the state, but it also includes respondents who do not fit into the four racial/ethnic groups listed above and persons of more than one race.[3] This format allows us to compare temporal changes in diversity and segregation between 1990 and 2000.[4] We equate census tracts with neighborhoods. The average census tract in California has about 4,000 people. Our measure of diversity and segregation in cities and counties is a weighted average of the diversity index for the census tracts either wholly or partly contained in the city or county.

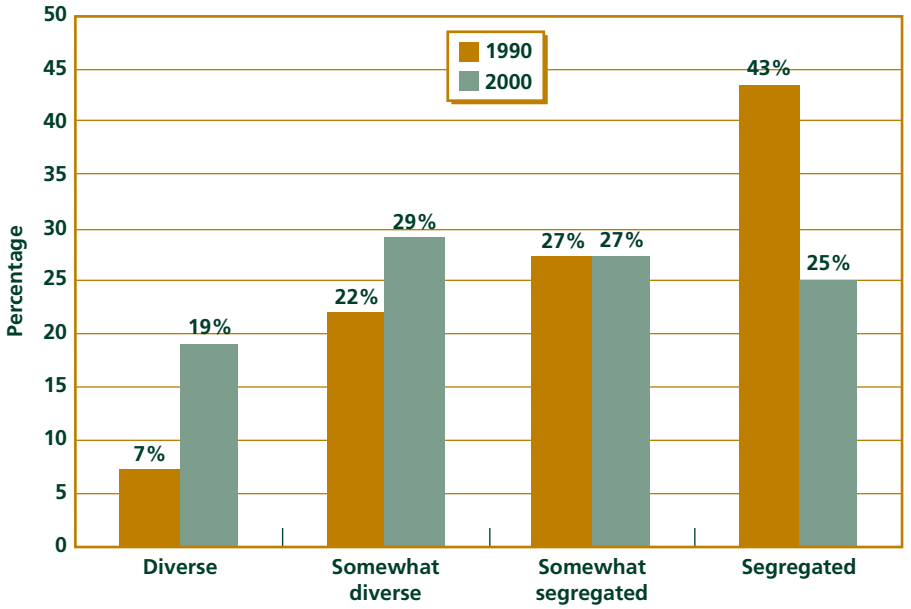
Residential Segregation and Diversity in California

Statewide Summary Measures

A large number of California's census tracts are segregated, and the state has more segregated census tracts than diverse census tracts; however, diversity is on the rise and segregation is on the decline in California's neighborhoods. Statewide in 2000, one of every four census tracts in California was segregated, whereas about one of every five census tracts had a diverse population. Still, the number of diverse census tracts in California increased dramatically between 1990 and 2000 (Figure 1). By 2000, the proportion of cen-

Diversity is on the rise and segregation is on the decline in California's neighborhoods.

Figure 1. Percentage Distribution of Census Tracts in California by Level of Diversity/Segregation, 1990 and 2000



Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Numbers may not sum to 100 percent because of independent rounding.

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sus tracts in the state that were diverse had almost tripled. At the same time, the proportion of segregated census tracts declined markedly.

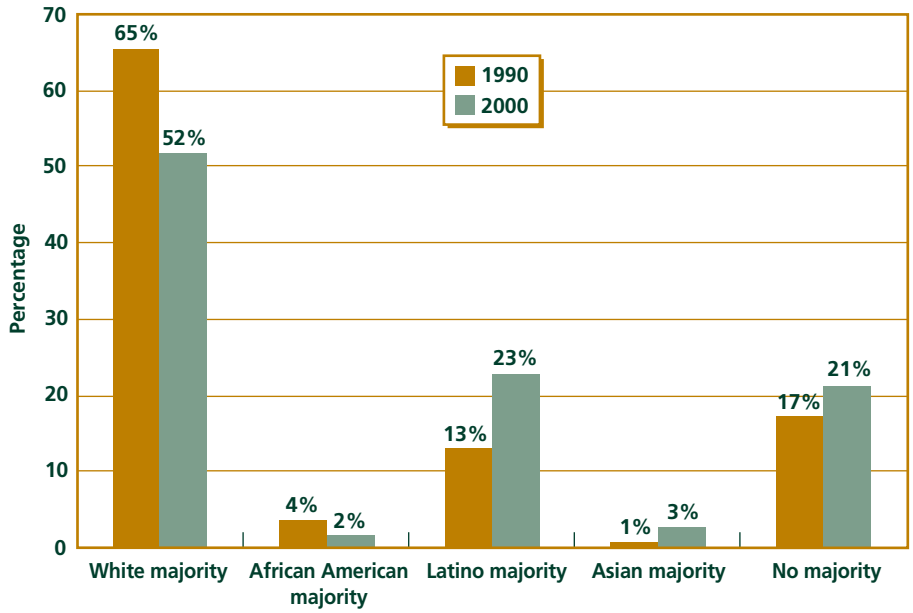
In most of California's census tracts, non-Hispanic whites constitute a majority of the population. However, the proportion of census tracts with either a Latino or Asian majority, or no majority group at all, increased from 31 percent in 1990 to 47 percent by 2000 (Figure 2). The number and share of census tracts with an African American majority dropped sharply between 1990 and 2000.

In 2000, census tracts with a Latino majority were the least likely to be diverse and the most likely to be segregated (Table 1). This is in sharp contrast to 1990, when tracts with non-Hispanic white majorities were much more likely to be segregated than tracts with any other majority group. Nevertheless, the percentage of segregated neighborhoods in Latino-majority tracts was *lower* in 2000 than in 1990. Indeed, regardless of which group constituted a majority of the population, the level of neighborhood segregation declined between 1990 and 2000. Thus, increases in Latino and Asian populations in California did *not* lead to substantially greater levels of neighborhood segregation. The number of Latino-majority segregated tracts almost doubled between 1990 and 2000; however, the number of Latino majority diverse tracts increased eightfold.

The percentage of California's residents living in segregated neighborhoods significantly declined from 1990 to 2000: Twenty-three percent lived in segregated tracts in 2000 compared with 39 percent in 1990 (Table 2). Twenty percent of Californians lived in racially diverse tracts in 2000 compared with only 8 percent in 1990. All racial/ethnic groups experienced a decline in the percentage that lived in segregated tracts. African Americans were the most likely to live in diverse tracts, followed by Asians, Latinos, and whites. Whites were the most likely to live in segregated tracts, followed by Latinos, African Americans, and Asians.

Some scholars have suggested that stable diverse neighborhoods are an exception to the rule in the United States. These scholars argue that diverse neighborhoods are rare because racial attitudes and preferences to live next to individuals of the same race foster self-perpetuating social processes that lead to neighborhood succession, rapid population change, and "inevitable resegregation" (Zubrinsky and Bobo, 1996; Schelling, 1971; Massey and Denton, 1993). Diverse neighborhoods are consid-

Figure 2. Percentage Distribution of Census Tracts in California by Majority Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990–2000



Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Numbers may not sum to 100 percent because of independent rounding.

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Table 1. Diversity/Segregation of Census Tracts in California by Majority Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990 and 2000

	Diverse	Somewhat Diverse	Somewhat Segregated	Segregated	Total
Number of Tracts, 1990					
White majority	27	659	1,171	1,948	3,805
African American majority	5	51	87	72	215
Latino majority	7	194	274	294	769
Asian majority	3	18	18	7	46
No majority	382	366	41	218	1,007
Total	424	1,288	1,591	2,539	5,842
Percentage Distribution of Diversity/Segregation by Majority Group, 1990					
White majority	1	17	31	51	100
African American majority	2	24	40	33	100
Latino majority	1	25	36	38	100
Asian majority	7	39	39	15	100
No majority	38	36	4	22	100
Total	7	22	27	43	100
Number of Tracts, 2000					
White majority	176	1,045	1,288	1,141	3,650
African American majority	10	45	48	26	129
Latino majority	59	475	486	576	1,596
Asian majority	22	112	39	7	180
No majority	1,070	367	44	13	1,494
Total	1,337	2,044	1,905	1,763	7,049
Percentage Distribution of Diversity/Segregation by Majority Group, 2000					
White majority	5	29	35	31	100
African American majority	8	35	37	20	100
Latino majority	4	30	30	36	100
Asian majority	12	62	22	4	100
No majority	72	25	3	1	100
Total	19	29	27	25	100

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Numbers may not sum to 100 percent because of independent rounding.

ered unstable principally because these diverse neighborhoods often experience rapid population change, which skews the population toward the incoming group. In other words, once a neighborhood reaches some threshold level of integration, the majority group begins to move out in large numbers, leaving behind a newly segregated neighborhood. Farley and Frey also have argued that "most whites are uncomfortable when numerous blacks enter their neighborhoods, and few whites are willing to move into neighborhoods with many black residents" (Farley and Frey, 1994).

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A new set of research studies has shown that the "tipping point" thesis does not hold true for all neighborhoods. These studies have found that diverse neighborhoods tend to be located in the western United States (Lee and Wood, 1991). Such neighborhoods are increasingly becoming an important element in the urban fabric in the United States, especially in California (Nyden et al., 1997).

In California between 1990 and 2000, we find that racially diverse neighborhoods appear to be quite stable, and the general pattern has been one of increasing diversity regardless of the initial level of diversity/segregation. Among the 322 tracts in California that were diverse in 1990, the vast majority (83 percent) remained diverse.[5] None became segregated or even "somewhat segregated" (Table 3).

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Population in California by Race/Ethnicity and Level of Neighborhood Diversity/Segregation, 1990 and 2000

	Diverse		Somewhat Diverse		Somewhat Segregated		Segregated	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
White	5	15	20	28	28	30	48	28
African American	19	38	34	31	28	21	19	10
Asian	21	35	37	39	26	18	16	7
Latino	9	18	30	30	30	25	31	26
Total	8	20	25	30	28	26	39	23

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Numbers may not sum to 100 percent because of independent rounding.

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Census Tracts in California in 2000 by Level of Diversity/Segregation in 1990

		2000 Level of Diversity/Segregation				
		Diverse	Somewhat Diverse	Somewhat Segregated	Segregated	Total
1990 Level of Diversity/ Segregation	Diverse	83	17	0	0	100
	Somewhat Diverse	46	43	10	1	100
	Somewhat Segregated	12	52	29	7	100
	Segregated	0	8	38	54	100

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Numbers may not sum to 100 percent because of independent rounding.

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At the other end of the diversity index, almost half of California's segregated tracts in 1990 were no longer in that category in 2000.

Regions and Counties

California's regions and counties exhibit strong differences in diversity and segregation. The Sierras and Far North have very few diverse census tracts, as the entire population of those regions is overwhelmingly non-Hispanic white (Table 4).[6] Rather than stating that those regions have a great deal of neighborhood segregation, we might instead say that those entire regions are racially and ethnically segregated from the rest of California. The Sierras was the only region in California not to experience a substantial decrease in the number of segregated census tracts between 1990 and 2000. At the other extreme, the Bay Area and Sacramento Metro regions have the greatest concentration of diverse census tracts. Along with the Bay Area, the San Joaquin Valley and the Inland Empire have

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Census Tracts in California by Level of Diversity, 1990 and 2000

Region	Diverse	Somewhat Diverse	Somewhat Segregated	Segregated	Total
1990					
Bay Area	12	24	23	41	100
Central Coast	2	10	28	60	100
Far North	0	4	13	83	100
Coast and Mountains	0	2	6	93	100
North Valley	0	5	20	75	100
Inland Empire	4	33	32	31	100
Sacramento Metro	13	14	22	51	100
San Diego	7	20	24	49	100
San Joaquin Valley	5	19	34	41	100
Sierras	0	3	13	84	100
South Coast	6	25	31	38	100
State total	7	22	27	43	100
2000					
Bay Area	31	32	22	15	100
Central Coast	5	18	38	40	100
Far North	1	10	27	61	100
Coast and Mountains	1	3	26	70	100
North Valley	2	17	28	53	100
Inland Empire	17	37	27	19	100
Sacramento Metro	29	18	20	33	100
San Diego	18	28	26	28	100
San Joaquin Valley	14	36	34	15	100
Sierras	3	5	13	79	100
South Coast	17	29	28	27	100
State total	19	29	27	25	100

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Notes: See Table 5 for counties in each region. Numbers may not sum to 100 percent because of independent rounding.

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Regional patterns mask strong differences within some regions. For example, the Bay Area is home to both the county with the greatest neighborhood diversity in the state and one of the least diverse counties.

the lowest concentration of segregated census tracts.

Regional patterns mask strong differences within some regions (Table 5). For example, the Bay Area is home to both the county with the greatest neighborhood diversity in the state (Solano) and one of the least diverse counties (Marin). Likewise, the Sacramento Metro region includes the very diverse neighborhoods of Sacramento County as well as the least diverse of all of California's metropolitan counties, El Dorado. The northern part of the San Joaquin

Table 5. Average Level of Neighborhood Diversity/ Segregation in California Counties, 1990 and 2000

Region	County	Diversity Index 1990	Diversity Index 2000
Bay Area	Solano	63	78
	Alameda	60	74
	San Francisco	61	69
	Santa Clara	57	68
	Contra Costa	49	64
	San Mateo	54	64
	Napa	37	49
	Sonoma	34	45
	Marin	31	39
Central Coast	San Benito	47	56
	Santa Barbara	47	54
	Monterey	52	53
	San Luis Obispo	37	44
	Santa Cruz	37	42
Far North Coast and Mountains	Lassen	38	48
	Del Norte	46	46
	Mendocino	33	39
	Lake	29	36
	Modoc	30	32
	Humboldt	28	29
	Siskiyou	29	28
	Plumas	24	21
	Nevada	18	20
	Sierra	19	19
	Trinity	24	17
North Valley	Sutter	51	63
	Yuba	52	59
	Colusa	53	54
	Glenn	42	52
	Butte	30	38
	Tehama	30	36
	Shasta	24	26

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valley (especially San Joaquin County) tends to have more diverse neighborhoods than the southern part, and the southern part of the Far North (the North Valley counties of Sutter, Yuba, and Colusa) is more diverse than the rest of that region. In Southern California, San Bernardino County has the greatest proportion of diverse neighborhoods. Los Angeles County, home to one-fifth of the state's whites, one-third of the state's Asians, two-fifths of the state's Latinos, and two-fifths of the state's African Americans, had

The most diverse and most segregated places in California tend to be suburban cities in large metropolitan areas.

Table 5. continued

Region	County	Diversity Index	
		1990	2000
Inland Empire	San Bernardino	56	67
	Riverside	50	61
Sacramento Metro	Sacramento	53	68
	Yolo	52	63
	Placer	27	34
	El Dorado	22	29
San Diego	San Diego	50	60
	Imperial	41	45
San Joaquin Valley	San Joaquin	57	70
	Kings	59	66
	Merced	59	66
	Fresno	55	64
	Stanislaus	47	59
	Kern	45	54
	Tulare	50	54
	Madera	44	50
Sierras	Mono	35	40
	Inyo	37	33
	Amador	33	32
	Alpine	47	28
	Tuolumne	27	28
	Mariposa	28	26
	Calaveras	22	25
South Coast	Los Angeles	53	60
	Orange	48	58
	Ventura	44	51

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Notes: Higher values of the diversity index indicate greater diversity. The diversity index is the weighted average entropy measure for tracts in the county.

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far more segregated tracts than diverse tracts in 2000 (544 versus 397). These neighborhoods were primarily white neighborhoods in 1990 (56 percent of all segregated tracts in 1990 had white majority populations), whereas in 2000 the vast majority of segregated neighborhoods in Los Angeles County were Latino (70 percent of all segregated tracts). Still, the share of Los Angeles County's neighborhoods that were diverse increased from only 8 percent of all neighborhoods in 1990 to 19 percent in 2000, whereas the proportion of segregated neighborhoods declined from 35 percent in 1990 to 26 percent in 2000. Moreover, the increase in segregated Latino majority neighborhoods between 1990 and 2000 was *not* due to an increase in segregation among Latino majority neighborhoods.[7] It was simply because there were *many more* Latino majority neighborhoods in 2000 in Los Angeles County than in 1990, both segregated and not segregated.

Cities

Many of California's largest cities and many of the state's suburban cities exhibit a great deal of neighborhood diversity.[8] Less diversity is found in cities in some of the more remote areas of the state where regional populations are largely non-Hispanic white, in some expensive mostly non-Hispanic white suburban cities, and in some largely Latino cities in the Los Angeles area, San Joaquin Valley, Imperial Valley, and agricultural areas of the Central Coast. Of California's 152 cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people, only 18 experienced a decline in neighborhood diversity between 1990 and 2000.

Among California's largest cities (those with populations of more than 200,000 people in 2000), Sacramento had the highest level of neighborhood diversity (Table 6). Citywide, Sacramento's population was 41 percent non-Hispanic white, 22 percent Latino, 17 percent Asian, and 15 percent African American.[9] Most of Sacramento's census tracts reflect this citywide diversity, with 40 percent of the city's tracts having very high diversity index scores. Only 20 percent of the tracts in Sacramento were segregated. Other large cities in the state with a high degree of diversity include Stockton, Fremont, Long Beach, and Oakland. Only Santa Ana and Los Angeles had lower levels of neighborhood diversity than the state as a whole.[10]

The most diverse and most segregated places in California

Table 6. Neighborhood Diversity in California's Largest Cities, 2000

City	Diversity Index	Population
Sacramento	81	407,018
Stockton	76	243,771
Fremont	75	203,413
Long Beach	72	461,522
Oakland	72	399,484
Fresno	70	427,652
Riverside	68	255,166
San Jose	67	894,943
San Francisco	67	776,733
Anaheim	65	328,014
San Diego	61	1,223,400
Bakersfield	60	247,057
Los Angeles	57	3,694,820
Santa Ana	45	337,977

Source: Authors' calculations based on 2000 Census data.

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tend to be suburban cities in large metropolitan areas. Of the ten most diverse cities in California in 2000, all except Sacramento were suburban cities in the state's two largest metropolitan areas: seven were in the Bay Area; two were in the Los Angeles area (Table 7). Some of these cities are older inner-ring suburbs (Richmond, Vallejo, and Bellflower); others are newer fast-growing suburbs farther from the central city (Pittsburg, Fairfield, and Moreno Valley). Almost all of these are cities characterized by high levels of homeownership and relatively affordable housing.

Seven of the ten most segregated cities in California are in the Los Angeles area and have large Latino majorities; two are expensive predominantly non-Hispanic white cities in Southern California; and one is the largest city in the mostly non-Hispanic white Far North region of California (Table 8).

During the 1990s, changes in neighborhood diversity were particularly prominent in suburban cities in California's largest metropolitan areas. Rancho Cordova, an unincorporated area near Sacramento, experienced the most dramatic increase in diversity (Table 9). At the other extreme, South Gate experienced the greatest decline in neighborhood diversity (Table 10). The cities with the largest decline in neighborhood diversity are all cities in the Los Angeles area with increasing Latino populations. In

Table 7. California Cities with the Most Diverse Neighborhoods, 2000

City	Diversity Index	Population
Vallejo	85	116,760
Pittsburg	85	56,769
Hayward	84	140,030
San Leandro	83	79,452
Fairfield	82	96,178
Sacramento	81	407,018
Bellflower	81	72,878
Moreno Valley	80	142,381
Union City	80	66,869
Richmond	79	99,216

Source: Authors' calculations based on 2000 Census data.
Note: Among cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people in 2000.

Table 8. California Cities with the Least Diverse Neighborhoods, 2000

City	Diversity Index	Population	Majority Group	Percent of Population
East Los Angeles	12	124,283	Latino	97
Huntington Park	14	61,348	Latino	96
South Gate	20	96,375	Latino	92
Florence-Graham	27	60,197	Latino	86
Pico Rivera	32	63,428	Latino	88
Newport Beach	33	70,032	White	89 to 90
Redding	34	80,865	White	86 to 88
Lynwood	38	69,845	Latino	82
Encinitas	39	58,014	White	79 to 81
Montebello	41	62,150	Latino	75

Source: Authors' calculations based on 2000 Census data.
Notes: Among cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people in 2000. For cities with a white majority, the low percent is based on the population reporting white as their only race, and the high percent is based on the population reporting white regardless of how many other races were reported.

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Table 9. California Cities with the Greatest Increases in Neighborhood Diversity, 1990–2000

City	Increase in Diversity Index, 1990 to 2000	Diversity Index, 2000	Diversity Index, 1990	Population
Rancho Cordova	25	71	46	55,060
Antioch	22	71	49	90,532
San Leandro	22	83	61	79,452
Lancaster	21	71	50	118,718
El Cajon	20	56	36	94,869
Concord	20	64	44	121,780
Victorville	20	69	49	64,029
Folsom	19	48	29	51,884
Temecula	19	59	40	57,716
Lakewood	18	75	57	79,345
Irvine	18	63	45	143,072
Vallejo	18	85	67	116,760
Arden-Arcade	18	57	39	96,025
Tracy	18	71	53	56,929

Source: Authors' calculations based on 2000 Census data.
Note: Among cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people in 2000.

each of the cities in Table 10, at least 70 percent of the residents in 2000 were Latino.

Finally, we ask, given a city's overall population by race and ethnicity, how segregated are each of the neighborhoods within that city? That is, how do individual tracts compare with the city's overall racial and ethnic structure? A city's overall population might be diverse, but is that diversity reflected in the neighborhoods of the city? We answer these questions by comparing a city's *actual* neighborhood diversity index score with its *potential* diversity index score. We define potential diversity as the diversity index score a city would have if its population was uniformly distributed throughout the city with respect to race and ethnicity. The difference between potential diversity and actual diversity would be zero if each census tract in a city had the same distribution of racial and ethnic groups as the entire city. By this measure, Los Angeles is the most segregated city in California (Table 11); the level of neighborhood diversity in Los Angeles is far less than the city's overall diversity.[11] Most of these relatively segregated cities in California are older large cities. Some do have diverse neighborhoods (Oakland, Long Beach, and Richmond), but many neighborhoods in those cities do not fully reflect the diversity of those cities' overall populations. Others do not have high levels of neighborhood diversity, although they are cities with diverse populations (Los Angeles, Redwood City, and San Diego).

These cities stand in stark contrast to diverse cities with diverse neighborhoods (Table 12). Diverse cities with diverse neighborhoods tend to be fast growing cities with plenty of new and relatively affordable housing. Between 1990 and 2000, seven of the ten cities in Table 12 experienced population increases of 20 percent or more, and six of the ten more than doubled in size between 1980 and 2000. Indeed, many of these integrated cities are the same places that are cited as examples of urban sprawl.

Census Tract Map

The map on page 17 illustrates the diversity of each census tract for the entire state. As illustrated in the map and noted earlier, large swaths of less populated regions are extremely homogeneous

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Table 10. California Cities with the Greatest Declines in Neighborhood Diversity, 1990–2000

City	Change in Diversity Index, 1990 to 2000	Diversity Index, 2000	Diversity Index, 1990	Population
South Gate	–20	20	40	96,375
Baldwin Park	–11	45	56	75,837
Paramount	–11	53	64	55,266
Huntington Park	–10	14	24	61,348
East Los Angeles	–9	12	21	124,283
Pico Rivera	–9	32	41	63,428
Florence-Graham	–9	27	36	60,197
Santa Ana	–6	45	51	337,977
Lynwood	–6	38	44	69,845
South Whittier	–5	48	53	55,193

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Among cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people in 2000.

Table 11. Diverse Cities in California with Relatively Segregated Neighborhoods 2000

City	Diversity Index	Potential Diversity Index	Difference
Los Angeles	57	80	23
Oakland	72	91	19
San Diego	61	79	18
Carson	70	87	17
Redwood City	56	71	15
San Francisco	67	82	15
Long Beach	72	87	15
San Jose	67	81	14
Pasadena	71	84	13
Richmond	79	92	13

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Among cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people in 2000.

Diverse cities with diverse neighborhoods tend to be fast growing cities with plenty of new and relatively affordable housing.

relative to the large population centers of the state. The diversity that does exist in these regions can be attributed to the presence of American Indian tribes native to California, the placement of prison facilities in areas with otherwise stagnant economies, and military bases such as those in the far east of Kern County.

In the more populous and rapidly growing regions of the state, there is far more diversity. However, in Los Angeles County, five of the cities with the greatest declines in diversity are clustered within roughly ten square miles south of East Los Angeles. Cities such as Huntington Park, Florence-Graham, South Gate, Lynwood, and Paramount form a segregated, highly Latino cluster along the 710 freeway. Around this area, especially visible to the south, are areas of high diversity. For example, Bellflower, Lakewood, Buena Park, and Signal Hill are among the most diverse areas in California. Most of the Los Angeles coastal areas remain segregated or somewhat segregated. Areas such

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Table 12. Diverse Cities in California with Diverse Neighborhoods, 2000

City	Diversity Index	Potential Diversity Index	Difference
Bellflower	81	83	2
Rancho Cordova	71	73	2
Antioch	71	73	2
Rialto	70	72	2
Fairfield	82	85	3
Tracy	71	74	3
Lancaster	71	74	3
Alhambra	68	71	3
Victorville	69	72	3
Moreno Valley	80	83	3

Source: Authors' calculations based on 1990 and 2000 Census data.
Note: Among cities and unincorporated places with 50,000 or more people in 2000.

as Manhattan Beach, Malibu, and Hermosa Beach are predominantly white, although not to the extent of Newport Beach in Orange County, one of the least diverse places in California.

Similarly, the Bay Area shows relatively high levels of segregation along the Pacific coastline. Marin County is the most striking example of this, with segregation scores in small places such as Kentfield, Belvedere, and San Anselmo on par with those in Newport Beach. On the other hand, seven of ten of the most diverse cities with populations of 50,000 or more are in the Bay Area. For example, the area from Fairfield south to Pittsburg forms a contiguous cluster of highly diverse tracts. Moreover, newer suburbs to the east of Pittsburg expand the boundaries of this highly diverse area. The area from Vallejo south to Richmond and its surrounding area—Hercules, El Sobrante, and San Pablo—also contain some of the most diverse tracts in the state.

In contrast to this diversity in the Bay Area are primarily white suburban clusters such as Walnut Creek, Danville, Lafayette, Alamo, and Clayton in Contra Costa County; Livermore, Pleasanton, and Sunol in Alameda County; Atherton, Woodside, and Portola Valley in San Mateo County; and Monte Sereno and Saratoga in Santa Clara County.

Conclusion

The city of Los Angeles stands out in terms of its very diverse overall population but relatively high degree of neighborhood segregation. Latino majority neighborhoods are more likely to be segregated in Los Angeles County than elsewhere in the state. The number of African American majority segregated neighborhoods declined statewide and in Los Angeles, yet substantial African American segregation still exists in Los Angeles County. In fact, in 2000 all of the segregated neighborhoods with an African American majority in California were in Los Angeles County. That Newport Beach still ranks as one of the most segregated cities in California, and that wealthy primarily white neighborhoods remain among the most segregated areas in the state, suggest that there are still economic and social forces operating to prevent diversity in these neighborhoods. Nonetheless, the patterns presented here suggest that increases in residential mixing that began in earlier decades, partly as a result of civil rights initiatives and changing attitudes, continued in California in the 1990s. Again, forthcoming economic data will be helpful in elucidating the role that economic considerations play in the maintenance of segregation in these areas. ◆

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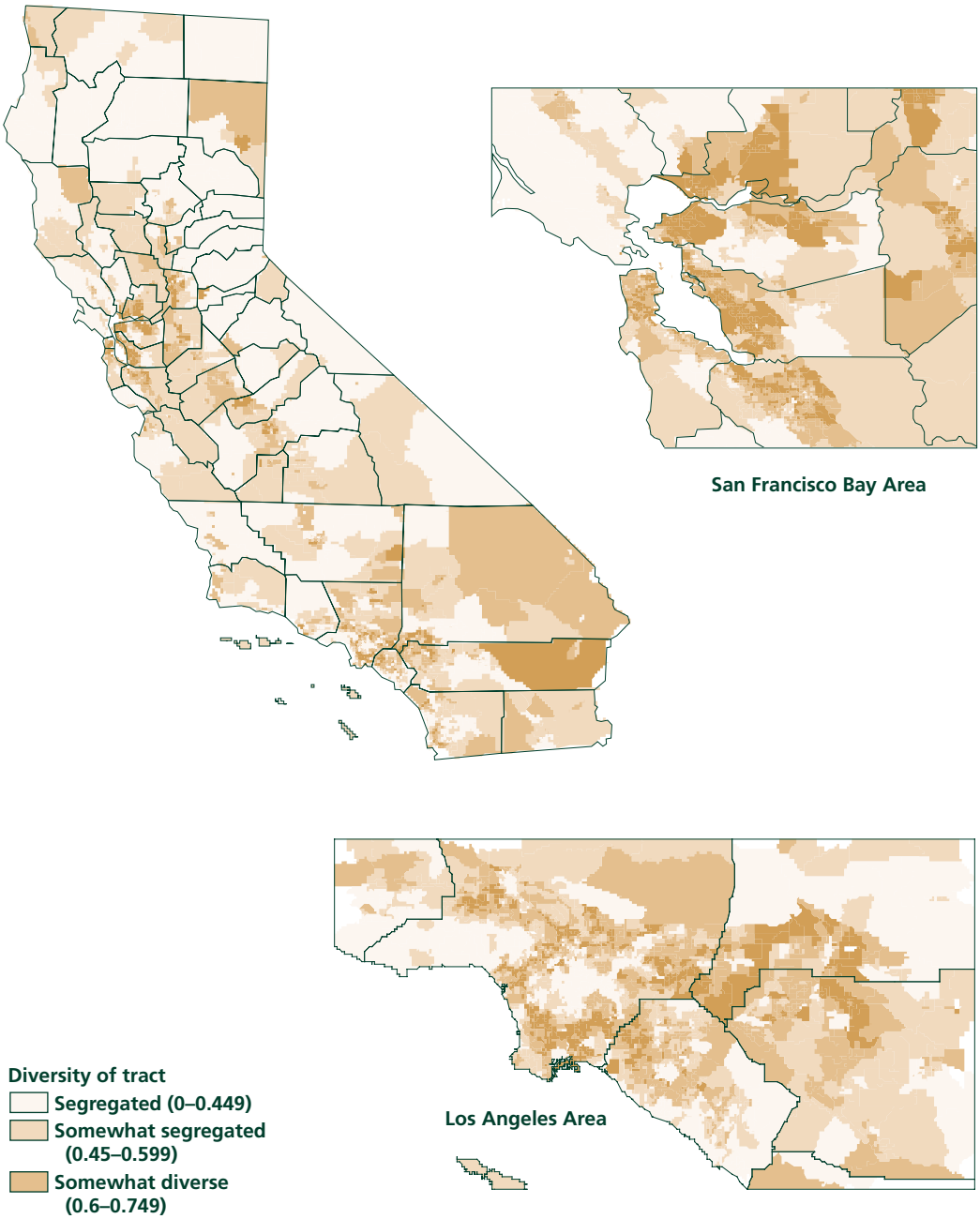
Diversity in California, 2000



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Notes

[1] Other measures of segregation examine the degree to which a group is concentrated geographically. Our focus is on neighborhoods and neighborhood change, rather than on any one racial or ethnic group. In future research, we plan to examine measures of concentration of various populations.

[2] Although the 2000 Census categorizes native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders separately, in this report we combine Pacific Islanders with Asians, as was done in the 1990 Census.

[3] We also developed measures of diversity and segregation using only the four racial/ethnic groups. The differences between the measure using four groups and the measure using five groups are very small throughout the state, except for areas with sizable American Indian populations.

[4] However, in 2000 we consider people of more than one race to be in the "other" category. The 1990 Census did not allow people to identify as being of more than one race. We do not adjust for this change in racial identity between 1990 and 2000. In 2000, 2.7 percent of Californians were multiracial non-Hispanic; 91 percent of African Americans and 89 percent of Asians identified as being of only one race. African Americans in majority African American tracts were less likely to identify as being of more than one race.

[5] Our analysis is limited to tracts that did not change boundaries between 1990 and 2000; 4,414 out of 5,842 1990 census tracts did not change boundaries.

[6] For information on racial and ethnic population trends in California's regions, see Johnson (2002).

[7] Forty-six percent of Latino majority neighborhoods in Los Angeles County were segregated in 2000, compared with 44 percent in 1990.

[8] We include "census designated places" in our discussion of cities. Census designated places are unincorporated areas with a concentration of people, housing, and commercial buildings.

[9] This figure includes the population of census tracts either wholly or partly in the city. An additional 6 percent were either multiracial, American Indian, or other.

[10] Statewide, the diversity index score was 58.

[11] In 2000, Los Angeles had far more segregated census tracts than diverse census tracts. Of the 865 census tracts either wholly or partially in the city of Los Angeles, 16 percent were diverse, 28 percent were somewhat diverse, 28 percent were somewhat segregated, and 28 percent were segregated.

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